January 1955

Fellowship

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MAGDA TROCME *Pastor's Wife*

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The Law Itself Was a Lie!

by André Trocmé

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COVER PHOTO: Magda Trocmé, of the French FOR, spent last summer addressing American audiences.

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Fellowship
The WORLD in FOCUS

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Smear

In November the smear spread to the Fellowship.

Through all the alarums and excursions of the past decade the FOR had gone comparatively unscathed. Once in a while someone would get excited and talk about "subversives," but such things were few and far between, and carried little weight.

For one thing, the Fellowship has been clear in its opposition to totalitarianism, of both left and right, straight through its history. It has stood, and stands, for the right of Communists to speak their piece freely, without harassment, but even in the days when the "popular front" was really popular, the FOR made it plain that it could not cooperate organizationally with totalitarians, whether they belonged to the German-American Bund or the Communist Party.

Nevertheless, in November the smear reached the Fellowship. It reached it through the efforts of Herbert Philbrick, erstwhile informer for the FBI and current special writer for the eminently respectable New York *Herald Tribune* and sixteen other newspapers. In his bi-weekly column, "The Red Underground," Philbrick announced that "highly trained and skilled underground Communist party agents" had been ordered to infiltrate the FOR at its "meeting" in Boston, Friday evening, November 19. The rest of the 1,000-word article he devoted to explaining how the Communists planned to use the pacifists as a "transmission belt" for their propaganda

and why the FOR, although "many" of its members are "loyal and sincere," stands in danger of being duped in this way.

The article was published in the *Herald Tribune* five days before the "meeting," in the Boston *Globe* on the day in question, and in other newspapers during the same week.

Facts

The "meeting" in question was a dinner—the 44th in the series of 40th Anniversary celebrations held for FOR groups across the country this fall. Because it had been preceded by 43 such occasions, anyone as astute as "highly trained" underground Communists are reputed to be certainly would have known that it would be as unpromising an opening for infiltration as could be found. The program as in other dinners in the series, provided no occasion for open discussion, unannounced speeches, resolutions, nominations or elections. The toastmaster was Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers, who knows Communist tactics well through having combated them through the long years of the Scottsboro case. The speakers were the national chairman and the national secretary of the FOR, both of whom have clear records on communism and are under no illusions about it.

Closing date for dinner reservations was the day before Mr. Philbrick's column was first published. Some reservations were accepted after that day, but the announced closing day had been clearly stated. The "underground agents," therefore, would have made their reservations before the Philbrick warning appeared.

The Boston dinner was one of the most successful in the whole series, in both attendance and enthusiasm. More than 200 persons attended. All but six of them were personally known, as FOR members or sympathizers, to staff members present, and the names of all six "unknowns" were found on the FOR list of people who had been sent invitations. Thus there was not a single person present who could not be accounted for.

No one infiltrated the FOR at the Boston dinner. Except for Mr. Philbrick's statement, there is not a scintilla of evidence that anyone so much as thought of attempting to infiltrate it.

Smearer

Herbert Philbrick is in a different class from the violent "witch-hunters" of our day. He has a pleasant personality and appears sincere and honest in his efforts to "combat the Communist conspiracy." He is a devoted churchman; it was as leader of a Baptist young people's group that he first became involved with the Communists and later with the FBI. He pleased many liberals immensely with his strictures against what has come to be known as McCarthyism.

Because he is this kind of person, and because he is endorsed by one of the best newspapers in the world, Philbrick is listened to by people who would discount anything a McCarthy could say. He is in demand as a speaker before respectable groups, including ministerial associations.

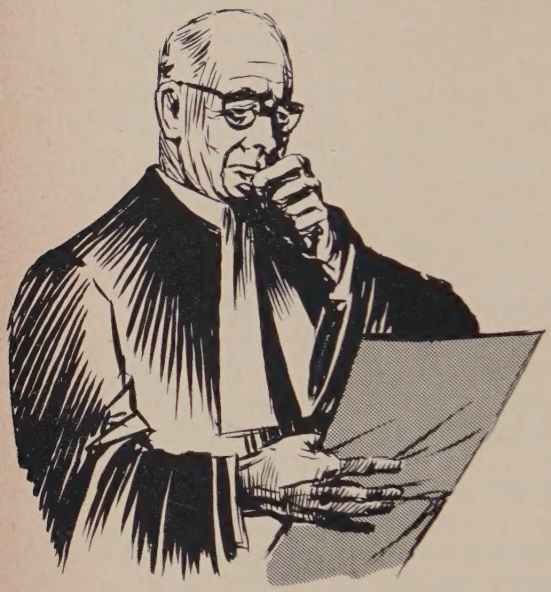
It is incumbent on such a person to be scrupulously careful in what he says about individuals and organizations. Mr. Philbrick was not scrupulously careful. At best, his article was an example of slovenly journalism; at worst, it was dishonest sensationalism. At a meeting with the editor of FELLOWSHIP and the secretary of the FOR, Mr. Philbrick acknowledged

—that although his article had implied complete familiarity with the FOR, he had in fact known nothing of it except the bare fact that it was a pacifist organization, and that he had made no attempt to find out any more about it before publishing the "warning"

—that the article was built upon a "report" from an unnamed informant that "members of the Communist Party in New England had been urged to attend" the dinner. What he wrote, on the basis of this meagre information, was that "highly trained and skilled underground agents" had been "ordered to infiltrate" the FOR at the dinner.

Two weeks after the dinner he inquired whether anything had happened (surely an oddly casual attitude toward the outcome of his own warning) which he followed at once with the observation that "probably" nothing had after all the publicity he had given it. Only the accident of the closing date for reservations having preceded publication of his column prevented this from being an unanswerable, if unconvincing, argument.

The Law Itself was a LIE!



by Andre Trocme

I HAVE READ with deep interest the comments of fourteen readers of FELLOWSHIP on the question: Would you lie to save a life? I was impressed by the seriousness with which these members of the American FOR think over the problems which may confront them one day, as brutally as they confronted us in the years 1940-1944 under Nazi occupation.

Let me tell you, in the following lines, my own convictions, which grew stronger and clearer under the ordeal, and are similar to those of all nonviolent Christians who participated in a resistance to a police state.

Basic Truth. Basic truth has been taught to us by Jesus Christ. What is it? The person of any one man is so important in the eyes of God, so central to the whole of His creation, that the unique perfect being, Jesus, (a) sacrificed his earthly life for that one man in the street, (b) sacrificed his perfection (in bearing our sins) in order to save that single man. Salvation has been accomplished without any regard to the moral value of the saved man. We are witnesses of God's nonsentimental, factual love, before our friends—and our enemies—before God's friends or enemies.

To "speak the truth" is not only

to "tell no lies" to friend or enemy, but also to tell him—by words and deeds—the good news that he is the beloved, forgiven Child of God, that he should stop worrying and believe in that God and that love.

1st Corollary. *MAN-MADE LAWS WHICH JEOPARDIZE THE LIVES OF GOD'S INNOCENT CHILDREN . . . ARE IN THEMSELVES LIES."* (Helen Ott)

Yes, the Nazi State systematically denied the Basic Truth revealed by Christ.

What did it teach?

Jews do not belong to the rest of humanity. Their peculiar genius is destructive. Hence they must be uprooted from the clean Aryan racial stock. They must be expelled from Germany and Europe (1st stage). If expulsion is no longer possible, they must be exterminated (2nd stage).

(We have to admit today that several totalitarian states and also, at times, several democratic states, are inclined to exclude from "national communion" certain sections of the population, not because they are opposed to the regime, but because they belong to an "inferior" or "dangerous" racial, religious or ideological group.)

2nd Corollary. *"SUCH MAN-MADE LAWS ARE NOT TO BE RESPECTED."* (Helen Ott)

True. Christians had to resist Nazi teaching (today the Evanston message calls us to resist all forms of racial discrimination) simply because they are witnesses to the basic Christian Truth, that is, they must be ready to sacrifice their interests, their security, their lives for the material and spiritual salvation of their neighbor (friend or enemy).

3rd Corollary. *"HOW CAN A PERSON BE TRUSTED IF HE IS TO LIE OR TELL THE TRUTH ACCORDING TO THE EXIGENCIES OF THE MOMENT?"* (Arthur J. Graves)

This is a mistaken statement. Vichy authorities in the end trusted us more than themselves.

The word "underground" is commonly used in English to describe resistance to Nazi persecution. It is never used in French and carries with it an unpleasant flavor of "cheating" and "lying" that does not correspond to facts.

In reality the Christian resisters

This article by the European secretary of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation continues a discussion in which readers of FELLOWSHIP have expressed great interest. Prompted by references to false identity cards and other devices used to save Jewish and other victims of the Nazis, which appeared in "They Occupied Our Country," by Dutch pacifist J. B. Hugenholtz (June, 1954), the editors invited readers to comment on the question: "Would You Lie to Save a Life?" Many of them did so, and some of their answers were published in the October, 1954, issue under the above title. These published letters brought replies from both André Trocmé and his wife Magda, both of which appear here in full.—**The Editors**

in France, in Holland and elsewhere did not lie to the State, pretending they were *not* disobeying its orders.

The opposite is true: several times I had the opportunity of explaining clearly to the Vichy authorities (a prominent pastor in Southern France did the same with the Gestapo) that we *were* hiding Jews and why we were doing so —that the law of God was love, and that the Church could not break that law. That it was our strict duty to use the traditional right to asylum, recognized to the Church from the Middle Ages up to the early 19th Century, in order to save innocent men from their guilty persecutors.

In doing this, we were not lying to the State, but telling it the truth. In fact, spiritual resistance helped the French and German officials to change their views. In several cases, after such talks, persecution slackened. Christians do not hate the State. They love it. They owe the truth to the State as well as to individuals. What an odious act of cowardice and collaboration with a lie and a crime it would have been to consent obediently to tell the Vichy police where the Jews were hiding, when I was summoned to do so in the summer of 1942!

Would such "not lying" have been a witness to Basic Truth? An unbearable hypothesis!

4th Corollary. *"LIFE WOULD BE MORE TRULY SAVED EVEN IF THE PHYSICAL MATERIAL LIFE IS LOST . . . HERE AGAIN JESUS IS MY SAVIOR."* (George Clauss)

True for me, untrue for my neighbor. Driven by love, you may, as a follower of Christ, sacrifice your own life. (Dr. Le Forestier, and Daniel Trocmé, my cousin, did not seek martyrdom, but were ready for it and faced it gallantly when it came. Who will say that their life is lost?)

But you cannot ask a crowd of scared fugitives, who come to you because they have been rejected by everyone from whom they have asked protection, not to lie, and to "die heroically" for a "cause" which does not exist. The Jews were not asked to recant their faith. They had to perish on account of their race. No "conversion" could save them. They had to die anyhow.

5th Corollary. *"THERE COMES A POINT WHERE TO ACT ON PRINCIPLE MAY BE FOR PURELY SELFISH REASONS . . . PERHAPS NOT LEAST AMONG THESE IS THE UNCONSCIOUS DESIRE TO SAVE THEIR OWN SOULS, COME WHAT MAY."* (Herbert Perry)

True. It was so easy for us, who were not Jews, who were in no fear of persecution, to "keep our hands clean." A friend of mine, a pious pastor in our church, wrote a booklet at this time, explaining that what was happening was the will of God, as a punishment for Jesus' crucifixion by the Jews. He kept no Jews in hiding in his parish.

Would you tell a Jew kindly, "Go in peace, be ye warmed and filled" when the police are after him?

Or would you ask him, "Show me your identity card, please? Ah, I see your name is Cohen. All right. Tomorrow I will have to go to the Town Hall and apply for some ration tickets for you"?

"Are you really forced to do

that?" Mr. Cohen would ask with anxiety.

"Yes. If I didn't, I should be disobeying the law and lying to the State."

"And what will happen the day after tomorrow?" Mr. Cohen would say.

"Well, of course, I am afraid the police will come and pick you up, and you will be deported to some unknown destination." (It was the time when nobody had yet heard about mass destruction in Auschwitz, although it had already begun.)

"Is that really all you can do for me?" Mr. Cohen would ask.

"Yes, sir, I am awfully sorry, but my religion orders me not to lie, and to keep my hands clean. I advise you to go next door. Maybe they are less authentically Christian than I!"

Mr. Cohen would sadly take leave and knock on the next door. So often the "Cohens" did, until the day inevitably came when they landed in the hands of a "straightforward Christian" . . . and in the gas chamber of a concentration camp. Over six million "Cohens" went through this ordeal.

The above conversation is, alas, not a caricature! *I HAD IT MYSELF WITH THE FIRST JEWISH WOMAN WHO KNOCKED ON MY DOOR.* I recommended her case to the town authorities and she had to flee away the next morning. Is she still alive? I don't know. I still bear the shame of my own naiveté as a burning scar in my breast.

6th Corollary. *"NEITHER WOULD I TELL A LIE TO SAVE AN INNOCENT PERSON'S LIFE NOR THAT OF A MILLION INNOCENT PERSONS."* (Noel Burleson)

Monstrous! Under a modern police state there is no escape, without the help of false identity cards.

Everybody is under police supervision and suspected.

Rations were so small under Vichy that you could not share your ration with your neighbor without starving both him and yourself. And it was not "one" neighbor. Every day "new" neighbors arrived, tens and hundreds of them. In Germany, where the rations were higher, about 30,000 Jews were saved by people who shared their rations with them and kept them in hiding for years.

To plead for a Jew with the authorities was equivalent to a sheer denunciation. The mechanism functioned unerringly.

7th Corollary. *"IT IS POSSIBLE TO SAVE THE WOULD-BE MURDERER FROM THE MORE SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES OF HIS SINS."* (Arthur Harvey)

Yes! Several French Vichy officials were grateful if they were not told *the whole* truth. "Don't tell me the truth," they begged, "or I shall be compelled to put that person under arrest."

There is a French saying that people in leading positions may be ready to "shut their eyes" ("fermer les yeux") as long as some silly "straightforward" citizen (this sometimes happened) does not feel bound to "tell *the whole* truth."

Over two thousand lives were saved, in and around Le Chambon, because Mr. *Cohen* appeared on his identity card as Mr. *Colin* or Mr. *Levy*, as Mr. *Leroy*. This was a vast, well-known and well-kept

secret, and the only way to show God's love to both the persecuted and the persecutors. If, while I was in hiding, I had been discovered and asked by a Gestapo policeman to tell the truth, I would have answered, "My name is Trocmé," because I was ready to tell *the whole* truth, although I knew I was wanted by the police and under a death sentence. But I cannot demand that of any other person around me. You cannot compel your best friend to be a conscientious objector.

8th Corollary. *"TRUTH IS ALWAYS RIGHT. A LIE IS ALWAYS WRONG."* (Donald K. Blackie)

Yes, indeed. We tried, therefore, never to replace the divine law of "non-lying" by a new man-made law (bad means for good ends) of "necessary lying."

We never tried to justify our action before God and man. We suffered each time we disobeyed the law of absolute truth. If I were to be placed once more in a position similar to that of 1940-1944, I would not start saying, "Now the time for lying has come." I would pray God for His guidance: "O Lord, deliver me from evil, from lying also," trusting that He would keep me in the right way.

But on the other hand, the day I was shown the first false identity card, made for a Jew who was living at our family table, God freed me from my scruples. It was no fun taking the card and giving it to Mr. Cohen, but it was clearly my duty to do so. It would have been a crime to say: "You cannot stay at our family table if your name is not Mr. Colin." (Cohen, and a Jewish lady, stayed safe and sound under my wife's protection until the liberation in 1944, while I was arrested, set free, sentenced to death, and forced to flee to a hiding place.)

In *that* situation the State was lying against God's Truth, and we were proclaiming the Truth: *that Cohen was not a dirty Jew,* worthy of destruction, but that he was God's child and that the spelling of his name was an absolutely secondary and unimportant matter as compared with the dignity of his person in the eyes of God, and the question of sending him or not to his death.*

Jesus went one day to Jerusalem incognito, although his brothers challenged him not to stay in hiding, because 'his time had not yet come"—John 7, v. 1-10. Was that lying?

The same Jesus, the day God called him for the supreme sacrifice, did not flee, did not lie, did not resist, but said: "Whom seek ye? . . . I am he. . . . If therefore ye seek me, let these go their way." The time for the disciples to die with Jesus had not yet come. It came later on.

Saul of Tarsus escaped from Damascus incognito because God's will for him was to use him as the apostle of the Gentiles. It would have been wrong for him to reveal naively his identity to the sentry at the Damascus gate. He escaped in a basket. Was this a lie? After his mission was accomplished, he died as a martyr, too.

9th Corollary. *"ABSOLUTE HONESTY MAY BE AS IMPOSSIBLE TO REALIZE IN PRACTICE AS ABSOLUTE LOVE, BUT IT IS THE STANDARD BY WHICH WE SHOULD MEASURE OUR*

* (Schweinjude)

WEAKNESS, NOT DEFEND IT!" (Andrew B. Smither)

Yes! I am never free from collective sin. I had plenty to eat today for lunch while many North Africans under French rule are undernourished.

Indirectly I was killing Vietnamese and French soldiers, while war was raging in Indo-China and I enjoyed "peace" at home.

Although a conscientious objector during last war, I *did* participate in killing.

I was co-responsible for the gas chambers in Auschwitz although I tried to save as many Jews as I could.

But this is no reason for justifying and systematizing my participation in killing, betraying, lying, while I built up my own human ethical "construction" to replace Jesus' teaching!

Only if I recognize my guilt shall I be forgiven, and forgiveness *enables me not to sin again.*

Therefore if I humbly recognize the imperfection of my actions during the years 1940-1944 and do not try to make a theory about "lying" or an "ethic of imperfection" (see Reinhold Niebuhr) instead of accepting the "ethic of faith in Christ," I can joyously obey God and His *absolute truth,* and make no other plans for the future than to obey Him in Truth and Love.

Conclusion. *"LET US NOT FALL VICTIM TO THE GREATEST OF ALL SINS: PRIDE."* (Enrico Molnar)

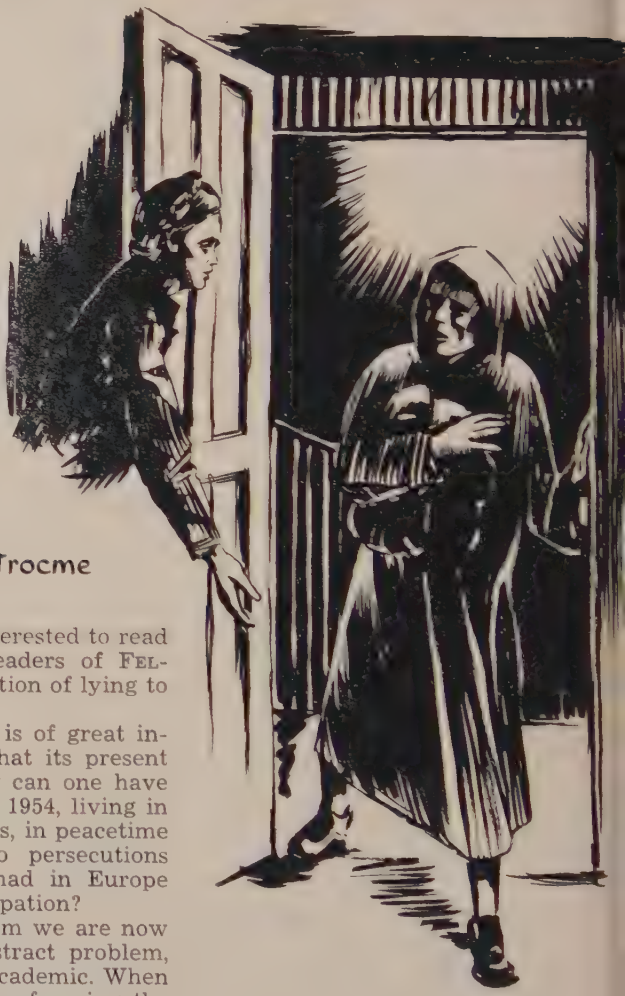
I know the above statements may seem somewhat contradictory. In fact they are. But dear American friends, you do not expect me to please you by telling you pious "lies" about nonviolence under Nazism. One can always collect a few exceptional cases as a proof for any theory. It is possible, in this way, to prove that a nonlying technique always succeeds in saving the innocent persecuted. I know one case in which absolute truth did really succeed in saving eighteen Jews. The heroine of the story never judged others. She repeated: "It was a miracle. God inspired me." (She is dead now.) Let us be as humble in spirit as she was!

When men sink to the tribal level and make the God they worship, it is always a god of war. When we allow God to shape us, the man of peace, after the heart of God, is the result.

Indra who led Aryan to India, Jehovah who gave the promised land to Jews, and Allah who spread Islam are gods of war. But where Gods shape us, it has always been for a peaceful society. The Muslim greets his brother with "Peace be with you"; "Santi" has been the closing benediction of the Upanishads, "Peace" a gift of the Holy Spirit in Christianity.

P. Chenchiah, in
Arunodayam, July 1954

"There was a Jew at your Door"



by Magda Trocme

I WAS VERY MUCH interested to read the opinions of readers of FELLOWSHIP on the question of lying to save a life.

Such a discussion is of great interest but I think that its present value is slight. How can one have the right reaction in 1954, living in California or in Paris, in peacetime when there are no persecutions such as those we had in Europe under German occupation?

The ethical problem we are now discussing is an abstract problem, and our discussion academic. When we started the work of saving the Jews in occupied France, we had no time to sit down and discuss ethical problems.

There was a Jew at your door. If

you opened the door you realized that the Jew was hungry, and after a few words you realized also that he needed clothes and shelter.

The first Jewish woman, a German, who knocked at my door was not a problem for me. At that time the Germans were not yet in Le Chambon, and we were under the government of Vichy. My first reaction was to go to the Town Hall and ask help from the French authorities. But what was my surprise when I was told that I was wrong to take that woman into my house and that it was a danger to the whole village and that she must leave Le Chambon the next morning!!

I went back and told the woman that she had to go and I felt unhappy and guilty. The snow was deep and her shoes were completely soaked and she had put them in the oven. When she opened the oven, with tears in her eyes, she discovered that the shoes were burnt. To allow her to leave the next morning I had to run round the parish hunting for a pair of shoes, at a time when no adult could buy shoes and when children had coupons for a pair of shoes once a year on their birthdays. The shoes were found and the woman left. She was a Jew. What did she think of a Christian community, walking in the snow without knowing where she was going?

Another time, for another foreign Jew I had a wonderful idea. If the Vichy officials were against helping the Jews, the French Jews themselves would surely be a help. The French wife of a French rabbi was a refugee at that time in Le Chambon. I went to see her and asked her for her help.

What was the answer? "A German Jew? But it is because of the foreign Jews that our French Jews are persecuted. They are responsible for our worries and difficulties."

Do you think that we had time to sit down and decide whether it was "ethical" to go on helping those poor people? When we started, we did not know that they would very soon need a false identity and that little by little the good will of many Christians and non-Christians would be united in a kind of "underground," or better, in a kind of "Resistance."

Knowledge of Sin

Every day we had to assume new responsibilities, and when we received from an unknown friend, probably a French official, a telephone call saying, "Hello . . . Hello . . . Pay attention . . . Tomorrow morning . . ." we had to take new decisions, scattering the Jews from one place to another. These decisions were taken in the knowledge that we were sinners but that we were doing what we would have liked other people to do for us in the same circumstances.

Of course, my husband would not have been taken to a concentration camp if we had shut our door and said, "Our Lord Jesus Christ does not allow us to help you, because if we help you we are going to be sinners!"

Thinking now of those past years, I hope never to go through such experiences again, but perhaps next time—if there is a next time—I shall not be the one who helps. I may need help from the others. Perhaps you American friends cannot imagine what it would be like because you have not seen such things in your country. But when I read some of your statements, I feel that if all Christians ought to behave as you think they should,

and if I was persecuted as the Jews were, I would avoid knocking at the door of a Christian. . . .

I do not read the Bible every day, but I know that there is an interesting story in the Gospels. I remember an adulteress in the midst of a crowd. Feeling ran very strongly against her, and there were some who thought they would stone her. But Jesus appeared, and he said something very direct and simple:

"He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her." (John 8:7)

If we decide not to lie to save a human being from death, are we sure that we always tell the truth, the whole truth, all our lives? Are we sure that we have never lied for much less noble reasons, for our own interests, from pride? And let us remember that lying is not only saying what is not true, but omitting to say what is true, interpreting truth in an entirely personal way, in a way that serves our interests or helps us to accomplish our desires. After thoroughly thinking all this over, we may then perhaps decide to "first cast a stone."

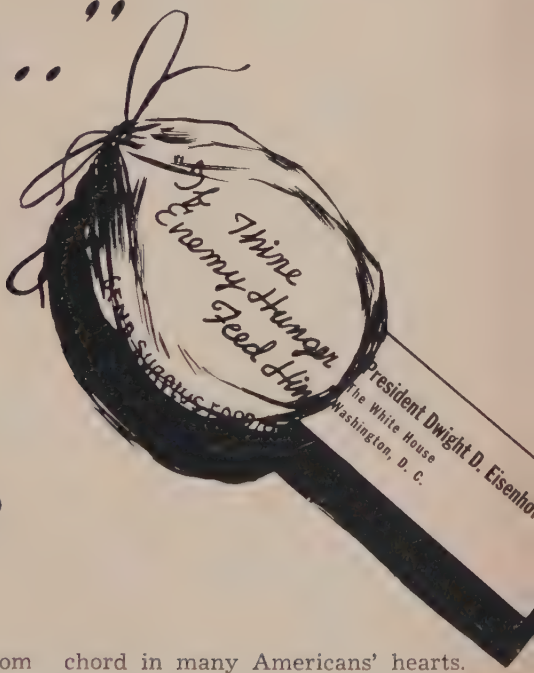
Negation, Vision, Hope

The military establishments and policies of the dominant powers are not after-thoughts or excrescences upon their respective socio-economic regimes, as if we might expect their governments to wake up some day and wonder how they accumulated all this atomic junk. The two are integrally related, and the Third Camp therefore stands for a regime, a way of life, distinct from American capitalism and totalitarian Communism alike. If as a matter of fact there is no other way of organizing society, people will eventually turn to one or other of them. The Third Camp must present a **positive** alternative or goal.

. . . As has been demonstrated in every revolutionary period and as is being demonstrated in our era in countries where Communism takes over, the masses are able under certain circumstances to summon tremendous energy and to endure great sacrifices. The main condition is that they should feel that they are moving into a new situation, that the old is really being left behind or destroyed. They must, in other words, have a vision. The Judaeo-Christian prophetic vision of a new world as mediated in the Labor and Socialist movements of the late 19th and early 20th centuries gave the masses such a vision. Let vision and hope be restored to them in place of the present sense of frustration and apathy, and they will not complain of "austerity."

A. J. Muste, in
The Camp of Liberation

"If Thine Enemy Hunger..."



A CAMPAIGN TAKES HOLD

BY THE FIRST OF DECEMBER, from all indications, thousands of little cotton bags of grain or cereal had already begun flowing to the White House with their messages urging the free gift of surplus food to the victims of China's terrible floods of last August. Although the first mailing on the "Surplus-Food-for-China" campaign had gone out from the national office of the FOR only three weeks before, it had already been necessary to reorder bags from the manufacturer for the second time.

There were other indications that the idea had struck a responsive chord in many Americans' hearts. Ministers, editors of religious publications, Sunday schools and other church groups joined individuals in writing of their enthusiasm and support for this expression of the Christian way of dealing with those who have been labelled "enemy."

Stories about the campaign, sent out from the national office and by Religious News Service, had appeared already in both secular and religious publications. "A proposal [that] will command the support of all Christian people," wrote a Baptist editor. "Reveals a remarkable degree of creative imagina-

tion," a Disciples editor commented in promising to publicize the campaign.

"I preached a sermon on the subject," reported the minister of a Wisconsin church. "There was quite a bit of favorable comment and many are writing to the President."

General Publications

General publications were being used well, both through the letters-to-the editor columns and in the advertising section. Clippings from newspapers all over the country drifted in, with letters from FOR members and others, urging the food-for-China idea, urging letters to the President, urging this better way of dealing with one's "enemies." The Finger Lakes (N. Y.) Monthly Meeting of Friends addressed a long letter to three newspapers of the region, all of which published it, at Thanksgiving, contrasting America's abundance with the hunger of Asia. Many FOR groups and individuals were ordering the prepared advertisement for insertion in local newspapers.

Some Criticisms

There were questions, too, and some criticisms. A few—a very few—people wrote in to say that the more Chinese who died, the better.

More were disturbed about one or another political aspects of the move. Would not the Chinese government "lose face" by accepting the food? Even if they accepted it, what assurance would there be that the food would not be sent to the Soviet Union in exchange for war materials, as the State Department asserts is now occurring? Even if they accepted it and distributed it, would they not hide the fact that the food came from America?

To these questions there are no perfect answers. The Chinese might well refuse the gift, but this we cannot know for sure until the offer is made, generously, without strings attached and without self-righteousness. And made again, and again. It is not ours to decide in advance what the Chinese government will do. To make such a decision may say more about the state of our faith than about the real feelings of the Chinese.

Having accepted the food, it is not impossible that some of it, at least, might be diverted from hungry people in exchange for arms, though we must be careful in making such a terrible judgment about men who also are our brothers. It would be nice if we could carry the food directly to the hungry people, and so be sure that they got it, but we must know by this time that this cannot be done. It is precisely this conviction of our own superior morality—which, incidentally, is shared by relatively few of our prospective benefactees—that arouses such antagonism among Asian peoples.

Will We Get Credit?

That the Chinese government might manage to disguise the source of the food seems less likely, if food were given on as large a scale as the catastrophe requires and as the FOR campaign urges. Constant references to iron and bamboo "curtains" do not mean that there is an impenetrable barrier to all communication.

Even if there were such a barrier, however, the Christian is not enjoined to give aid to the needy

in order to get credit. On the contrary, said Jesus, "Take heed that ye do not your righteousness before men, to be seen of them. . . . But when thou doest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right doeth: that thine alms may be in secret: and thy Father who seeth in secret shall recompense thee." (Matt. 6:1, 4.)

Are They "Enemies"?

Others have written their concern at the use of the word "enemies" in the campaign. The Chinese are not our enemies, they say, and we fall into the clichés of the militarists when we make that kind of reference.

It is a legitimate point, of course. In one sense, the Christian cannot think of any person as his enemy, since he must think of all persons as his brothers. Yet Jesus himself refers to "enemies" and counsels his followers how to behave toward them, and if the Chinese government—to whom the offer of food would be made for the use of its hungry people—is not one of the national "enemies" today, it is hard to see what meaning is left to the word.

American ships patrol the waters off the Chinese coast. American planes have been shot down by the Chinese; American fliers have been imprisoned by the Chinese; American statesmen issue stern warnings to the Chinese and have concluded a "mutual security treaty" with the Nationalist government on Formosa directed against the Peiping regime. "Hate America" slogans resound through China. Chinese assets in this country have been frozen; some Chinese individuals have not been permitted to leave the country to return home. Add to this the fact that the Korean "police action" war still is technically in being, and it is hard to see at what point the word "enemy" has relevance if not here.

How to Help

Through the efforts of individual FOR members and friends, many other individuals and groups have been enlisted in the Surplus-Food-for-China campaign. These are some of the things they have done, and you can do, to help:

1. Organize "Food-for-China" committees in churches and communities.

2. Encourage ministers to preach on the subject; suggest that church schools take on the sending of bags of grain as a project. (One church school sent for 1,000 bags.)

3. Write letters to editors of newspapers; insert prepared ad in local and special-interest papers.

4. Put "If Thine Enemy Hunger . . ." posters on every available bulletin board; mail them to friends, ministers' lists, etc.

5. Write to national church boards urging them to take up the project.

6. Write to the State Department and the President, pointing out what one national columnist called the "electrifying" effect such a move would have on the whole world scene.

What is urgent here is not what words we apply, however, but how we deal with a people who, as a nation, are in a state of enmity so far as our nation is concerned. And it is this that determines the spirit of the campaign: *"If thine enemy hunger, feed him!"*

Still the big question in many people's minds remains: Is this a hopeless effort? Particularly is this

a question for those who have written to the President or the State Department, and have had the State Department's reply that the Peiping Government turned down two offers of aid from the international League of Red Cross Societies and therefore would presumably make the same response to our offers.

The answer remains simply that no one can know what the response will be until the offer has been made. The State Department may be right, but on the other hand it may not. The offers to which it refers were made on July 17 and August 9, on the heels of the floods, while the Peiping regime was still assuring the world that no serious damage had occurred. May it not be too rigid to assume that a rejection in August inevitably means a rejection the following January? The United States has been accused more than once of being inflexible in its approach to the Communist nations. This may be another example of inflexibility, and it should not stand in the way of those who seek to exhaust every possibility for demonstrating Christian compassion. *Time* magazine commented editorially: *

> "Watching from his island stronghold of Formosa, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek appealed in the name of humanity to 'all Chinese,' whatever their political persuasion, and to all 'foreign friends' for flood and famine relief to save the mainland from disaster. He did more: he sent some of his own transport aircraft to drop 60 tons of rice over the worst-hit mainland provinces. The generalissimo did all this despite the cluck-clucking of the U.S. State Department that such assistance ought not to be rendered to enemy regimes. In so doing, Chiang, a practicing Christian, showed more magnanimity, good sense and imagination than the U.S. State Department."

* Sept. 6, 1954.

Melodramatics, or . . .

The Christian faith enjoins forgiveness even to the hurt of the forgiver, not in order to show how good-natured and charitable the Christian can be, but in order to counteract and wipe out the moral wrong which is an offense to the whole community. You can get rid of the sinner only at the cost of adding to the sin from which society continues to suffer. To get rid of the sin, which is as dangerous as atomic contamination, the only thing to do is at all costs to bring the sinner back into fellowship.

It is deplorable that political science is still at so elementary a stage that it is often prepared to risk the welfare of the people in order to indulge in self-righteousness. We can have our melodramatics, or we can have the scientific elimination of evil, but we cannot have both.

Reconciliation, Oct. 1954

"INTERIM PERIOD" in South Africa

by George Houser

IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT for me to describe the sense of elation I had when I arrived in South Africa. Having crossed the hurdle of getting the visa in Leopoldville, I fully expected to be detained at the Johannesburg airport. But no questions were raised by either the immigration or customs officials. Then in the days following, South Africa and its problems began to come alive for me.

One of the reasons why the South African situation appears so obviously bad is that there is still a lot of democracy in the political set-up. The trend is a retrogressive one, but this does not diminish the fact that within limits freedom of expression and freedom of organization still exist. There is a residue of democratic liberalism in South Africa that makes the problems there loom all the larger. I am so critical of what is happening in South Africa and on the whole so pessimistic about the immediate future that I feel it important to make this point.

I talked with people of all shades of opinion, from African Communists and Trotskyists on one side to white liberals and rather reactionary Nationalists on the other. Regardless of point of view, everyone expects real trouble in the Union soon and for years to come. At some point in my discussion with any person, I asked, "What do you think is going to happen here in the next few years?" Usually no one wanted to try to predict with any finality, but in every answer the phrase, "There is going to be

much bloodshed," crept in. The Nationalists would say this as if they were resigned to the necessity of it in order to keep control. The liberals would say it with a painful, tragic expression, knowing that no solution would come out of it. Non-whites would say it with the realization that such violence would on the African side be spontaneous outbursts from unorganized elements in the African population, an expression of frustration of the masses, and with the knowledge that reprisals wreaked on the people participating would be awful. There is definitely nothing in the strategy of the responsible non-European organization calling for violence. The leaders recognize the complete futility of such a course of action.

Ripe for Revolution

The situation in South Africa cannot be understood unless one recognizes it as revolutionary in nature. There is no solution to the problems posed by the existence of this multi-racial society within the pattern which is now dominant there. Not just partial changes, but basic changes must be made. And the situation is dynamic, not static. Forces are lined up on the one side to preserve a pattern of privilege, of white dominance, of black subservience, of apartheid. Forces are arrayed on the other side to demand equality, a decent standard of living, the advantages of education free from an imposed segregation. The revolution shaping up is obviously not at this stage one which aims to achieve a change in the economic order from capitalist to socialist, for instance. It is a national revolution. South Africa represents a unique situation in the world, for in this one country the white exploitation is akin to colonial exploitation usually associated with an indigenous people being conquered by an outside national group. But here the struggle is being waged within the confines of one relatively small country. The subject people want freedom.

Africans Repressed

Without going into detail, let me just list rapidly some of the measures that the numerical minority of Europeans impose on the numerical majority of non-Europeans. (As you are aware, there are about 2½ million Europeans, 8½ million Africans, 300,000 Asiatics, mostly Indians, and 1 million Coloreds—those of mixed ancestry.) The non-Europeans have virtually no voting rights. Only the Colored in the Cape Province can vote for the regular roll of candidates in a Union election. No non-European can be elected to the Union Parliament. Africans can be represented only by three Europeans in the lower house and four in the upper house of Parliament.

The policy of apartheid or segregation is accepted by virtually all whites in South Africa. Basic to this is the idea that Africans belong in a tribal setting in the rural designated reserve areas of the country. About 12½% of the land surface of the country is so set aside by the government. But even in the reserves Africans can not own land. They can only occupy it. There is nowhere in the Union that the African can own land without special permit granted by the government. (An exception to this would be the so-called Western Area of Johannesburg, where

several hundred Africans own land. But the government is going to move all Africans from this area under the Native Resettlement Act.)

White Man's Domain

The white man needs the labor of the black man. Therefore Africans can go to the cities to work (not as a right but as a privilege) if permission is given. The so-called "pass system" has its origin in this connection. As long as African labor is needed, an African can get a pass to go to a city where he will work as a servant, as a miner, as a manual laborer, etc. But if there is no need for labor, then a pass will not be granted. The city is the white man's domain. No African migration to Capetown, for instance, has been allowed since 1949. I visited the court in the Location of Langa near Capetown to hear some of the cases. Practically all the cases were for pass violations. One woman being tried had been in the Capetown area for five years with her husband and family without a pass. She was given a suspended sentence of thirty days' hard labor on the condition that she be out of the area by October 30th. Her husband had work in Capetown. Where was this woman to go? The theory that there is a tribal area for Africans to return to is pure fiction. The industrial revolution, the gold and diamond mines, have destroyed the tribal system beyond hope of repair. Most Africans can live only a step above the starvation level in the reserves. This is why they go to the cities—pass or no pass. Official statistics for 1952 indicate that more than 200,000 Africans were arrested for violating the pass laws.

Once in an urban area, with the exception of the servants who are usually housed in a back room of the master's house, Africans must live in the Locations. They are not allowed in the downtown areas after 9 p.m., or some other designated hour, without special permit. They cannot have trade unions with a legally recognized right of collective bargaining. The government is even now trying to push legislation through Parliament making it impossible for the white trade unions to have African auxiliaries. Under the Reservation of Social Amenities Act any public place may refuse service to any person of a given race with no right of appeal by the person discriminated against. Under the Group Areas Act whole communities will be moved from one place to another because the area now being used by the particular racial group has been designated for a different racial group. Sex relations or marriage of white and non-white are a violation of law. Many details could be given to make even clearer that within the structure of things as they now are there is no social salvation for the non-white.

Omnipotent Nationalist

The possibility in the immediate future of bringing change about by constitutional methods does not exist. The Nationalist Party, which is firmly committed to every practical step to advance apartheid, has uncontested political power—not only in the national Parliament but in three of the four provinces as well. Furthermore the Nationalists are gaining strength. They have a definite policy from which there is little deviation. The United Party, the opposition group, is increas-

ingly weakened because it will not openly attack apartheid, but would implement it with not quite the same vigor as the Nationalists. The Labor Party is practically non-existent now. The new Liberal Party is a handful of white people whose hearts are in the right place, but with not enough dynamic to advocate the revolutionary program demanded at this juncture of history. Thus the real force in opposition to the present trend must come from the masses of non-white people who suffer under the present system.

All-out Struggle?

One of the things more startlingly different in South Africa than in any other place I visited in Africa was the organization that existed among the African people, and also among the other non-whites. This is not to say that the organizations existing are necessarily very strong, or that most people are ready to affiliate with one group or another, but something is there.

I made contact with African leaders like Chief Albert Luthuli, president of the African National Congress; Walter Sisulu, until recently Secretary-General of the ANC; Dr. Dadoo and Y. A. Cachalia of the South African Indian Congress; Manilal Gandhi; Patrick Duncan; Trevor Huddleston, a white priest of the Anglican Church and active in the struggle for justice; Arthur Blaxall of the FOR and Christian Council of South Africa; and representatives of the Liberal Party, of Colored organizations, of labor, etc. I came out of my discussions with these people with certain definite impressions.

First, no one knows how many members there are in the African National Congress. The figure that was presented most convincingly to me was about 20,000. But the strength of the organization cannot be reckoned by the membership. Rather it must be reckoned by the number of people ready to join in organized activities of one kind or another. Thousands of people would join any activity as long as the penalty for doing so at this point was not too great.

Second, and following very closely on the first point, the problem in South Africa is not near a solution. The people are not ready to undergo the suffering involved in an all-out struggle. If they were, several things would be happening now that will not happen. The Defiance Campaign would not have ended just because new laws were passed which have the government power to give five-year sentences, a stiff fine, and fifteen lashes as punishment for disobeying laws. The forty-odd leaders who have been banned from attending "gatherings" would not honor these bans. Mass protests would be planned against rent increases going into effect on October 1st. There would be refusal to accept the Bantu Education Act by which all education of the Africans is being put under the government, and instead of being administered by the Department of Education will come under the Department of Native Affairs. Such protests would be in the offing against the government proposal to move all Africans in the so-called Western Areas of Johannesburg (Sophiatown, Newclare, Martindale) out of their homes and to a new Location now being built that the government would not dare to undertake the

project. This is not the period of a final struggle, violent or nonviolent, with the government.

Third, there can be no doubt of the fact that the Communists are exploiting the situation for all it is worth. However, it would be another thing to say there was Communist domination. Most of the African leaders are not interested in ideology. What does ideology mean to a person who is living with no rights worth mentioning and on a subsistence level? The people are interested in freedom. They will work with any force which is trying to achieve the ends of liberation.

Is there a solution in sight to the South African problem? As I have suggested above, no immediate solution is in sight. The Nationalists are in unquestioned control. Although they will not be able to achieve their goal of complete apartheid, they will also not relinquish their power without a really ultimate struggle. The nonwhite forces with a few Europeans are the only ones that can supply the dynamic of change at this point, but they are too disunified and undisciplined to do so in the near future. This means that South Africa is in an interim period. It is a period of learning, of preparation, of smaller community-wide struggles. One cannot think that a new social order in which there will be justice for the majority of people will not be achieved some day, but as with all such developments in history, it will be a long struggle. I only hope that interracialism rather than black nationalism, democracy rather than totalitarianism, nonviolence rather than violence, will prevail.

The Problem of Peace

Man has become a superman . . . but the superman suffers from a baleful defect of spirit. . . . The essential fact which our conscience has to recognize, and which we should have recognized long ago, is that we have become inhuman in the same degree that we have become supermen. In the course of wars we have accepted that men have been killed en masse—about twenty million in the second world war—that whole towns with their inhabitants have been obliterated by the atomic bomb, that men have been made living torches by incendiary bombs. We were told this by the radio or the newspapers, and we judged these facts all according to whether they represented a success for our group of nations or for our enemies.

When we admitted to ourselves that these things were the results of inhuman acts, that admission was accompanied by the reflections that the nature of war condemned us to accept them. In resigning ourselves without resistance to our fate, we make ourselves guilty of inhumanity.

. . . We were pleased to consider it [the ideal of a warless world] a Utopia. But today the situation is such that it must become a reality again in one form or another; otherwise humanity will perish.

ALBERT SCHWEITZER, excerpts from Nobel Peace Prize lecture, Nov. 5, 1954.

From the University, On Exchange

The month of the last chrysanthemum blossoms
Our postcard to your Office of Education
Was returned to us stamped in red
"Service Suspended." And whoever had what is now
My job at the time noted its contents carefully,
But evidently, not its connotations.
Shortly thereafter through twinkling
December air your bombers dropped their cargo
On a place I had never heard of, in Hawaii.
Not knowing what else to do, we learned to hate,
And with the aid of the greatest minds in the country,
Plus a few unmentioned mechanical computers,
We manufactured our fear, and dropped it
On your fields, your cities, your children,
The woman whose skin came off her hand like a glove.

We note your letter of recent date
Informing us that service is reinstated,
And asking for the favor of publications.
We send you, I tie them together now,
The Report of our Expedition to Patagonia,
Tied in with them is fellowship, the offer
Of our love, and a list of dissertations;
From these you may make a selection.
They come to you from the University,
On exchange. Your favor is asked in return.

MARION HOLDERITH

Teen-Age Girls Get Rifle Training in India

Cause of great concern in the pacifist community here and in India is the speed with which India is building up a military establishment against the wishes and vision of the late Mahatma Gandhi, "the Father of the nation."

A photograph in a recent issue of *The Hindustan Times* (air edition for overseas subscribers) shows the Junior Wing of a Girls' Rifle Training Club at practice under the leadership of a uniformed soldier. It is indicated that the rifle club is part of the National Cadet Corps program which has now invaded government schools and colleges.

The Indian F.O.R. has gone on record as taking a "serious view" of this development. Already 50% of the national budget goes into the arms and training program for military defense; and there is always the possibility that the government will come to link up promotions and recruitments to government service with military training, thus discriminating against those persons who feel called to serve their country in ways more in keeping with the Gandhian constructive program.

It is hoped that a strong representation can be made to the Central Government against military training for the young, perhaps in conjunction with well-known Gandhian leaders. Also, the Indian F.O.R. group has sent reprints of "Gandhi's Hour of Trial" and other relevant literature to the headmasters of Christian high schools.

Mourn Death of "One of Ourselves"

"May we humbly join you in mourning the death of a member of our larger family—the human race—with a feeling of shame that we have even accidentally shared the responsibility for the death of one of ourselves." Thus concluded the letter of condolence sent on September 27 by eighteen members of the East Bay F.O.R. in Berkeley, California, to the relatives of Aikichi Kuboyama. Kuboyama died as a result of America's hydrogen bomb test explosion in Pacific waters.

New Sec'y for Midwest

Replacing Ab Watson (now working with CARE in Canada) as Midwest field secretary for F.O.R. is Dr. Paul Macy, for the past ten years serving the ecumenical movement through various Federal and World Council of Churches positions. A Congregational minister, his last job was heading the committee responsible for local arrangements for the Evanston W.C.C. Assembly.

Agnostic's Case Being Decided

The case of Vern Davidson, the young California Socialist basing his conscientious objection on humanitarian and political considerations, is currently being decided by appellate court. Members of his defense committee are optimistic about the result. A successful appeal will be important for establishing the right of conscientious objection on grounds of sincere agnostic belief.

Up to now, a young man has had to show belief in a Supreme Being in order to qualify for CO classification. The brief in the Davidson case hold that this requirement is a violation of the constitutional separation of church and state. (Earlier details on this interesting case can be found in Feb. and Dec. 1954 issues.)

Baltimore Friends School Admits Negroes

In announcing that Negroes will be admitted next September to the student body of Friends School, a private coeducational institution in Baltimore, Md., Dr. G. Canby Robinson admitted "a sense of obligation and responsibility to encourage and support the movement started by the United States Supreme Court to remove discrimination between citizens of different racial origins and to have the policies of the school conform more clearly to the principles of the Society of Friends."

Dr. Robinson is the chairman of the education committee of the Stoney Run Monthly Meeting of Friends which conducts the nursery through secondary grades school.

Jewish Peace Fellowship Greets F.O.R.

Harvey Edwards. Executive Secretary of the Jewish Peace Fellowship, has written FOR as follows: "On behalf of the Jewish Peace Fellowship I would like to extend our best wishes and greetings on the 40th anniversary of the FOR. There are few organizations who can claim, through forty years' existence and service, to have served so effectively the cause of peace. We congratulate you on your birthday and wish you an ever-increasing yield of success."

D.A. Accused of Intimidating CO's

Assistant U.S. Attorney Ronald Greenberg of Detroit is reported to have used methods out of keeping with the function of a U.S. Attorney in an attempt to intimidate two CO's who ran an ad about conscientious objection in *The Michigan Daily* a number of months ago.

A report of Greenberg's attempted intimidation, which was sent to the Department of Justice, included the following points: the attorney threatened return of their cases to their draft board, "sarcastically" and "angrily" called the men smart-aleck college kids, levelled accusations at the Jehovah's Witnesses and Muslims and stated that he wouldn't mind rounding up Muslims in their temple with machine guns, that the two CO's were under "the shadow of an axe" and that "we've got men everywhere and sooner or later they'll get you, so be careful."

The Department of Justice believes that no action against Green-

berg is warranted. Lyle Tatum of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors requests that concerned persons write to the Attorney General, Washington 25, D.C., asking for the government's report of its investigation, which thus far the government has refused to make public.

Draft Official Protests Life Term for Soldier

H. W. Wright, chairman of the Big Springs, Colorado, draft board, resigned October 5 in protest against the life sentence given to Cpl. Claude Batchelor for collaborating with the Communists in Korea. His letter of resignation read:

"My conscience will not let me be a part of drafting young men who might later be subject to the severe punishment that was rendered Cpl. Claude Batchelor. Althought I cannot tolerate anyone who would collaborate with the Communists, I am still of the opinion that the court did not take into consideration that this boy was only 16 years old when he entered military service."

The 22-year-old soldier was convicted by an Army general court martial at Fort Sam Houston, San Antonio. His conviction and sentence are on appeal.

Baltimore Group Acts on Race Issue

When Baltimore became embroiled in the controversey over integrating schools, a controversey initiated by the National Association for the Advancement of White People, the Baltimore F.O.R. called an emergency meeting. Charles Walker, Philadelphia Secretary, reports that 40 persons attended on two days' notice.

Four committees were established to undertake immediate projects of education and reconciliation. The group has been making a study of films available through the Free Library for program use, especially by organizations in the tension area. A meeting of ministers was called. Members cooperated in an interracial work camp set up by the American Friends Service Committee, and are cooperating in an incident control program.

Muste Film To Be Basis of College Study

Not By Might, the film in which A. J. Muste expounds pacifism for twenty minutes, will be used by students at the University of Southern California in a study they are making of film techniques. The study will be directed by Mr. William Lantz, pacifist and part-time instructor who is working on a Ph.D. in speech.

According to Southwest Secretary Wilson Riles, the experiments are not designed to take up the issue of pacifism as such, but rather to test how well the speaker put across his ideas. One group of students will be asked to concentrate on the ideas expressed in the film; another will observe method of delivery; while a third will be a control group given no instructions whatever.

The study will eventually be made available to the F.O.R. There is also in the offing the possibility of making another discussion film similar to *Not By Night*.

"Under Quaker Leadership, Democracy in Housing"

Negro and white families have begun moving into Concord Park in Trevose, lower Bucks County, Pa., the steel boom section of the Delaware Valley. Planned by a group of Quakers, the fifty-acre development is the first interracial post-war housing project in Bucks County. Levittown, a planned community of 8,000 homes built in three years, and Fairless Hills, a somewhat smaller development that also serves the huge Fairless Plant of U.S. Steel, are not open to Negroes, although Negroes are employed in the area. Concord Park's policy is revealed by its slogan: "Under Quaker Leadership, Democracy in Housing."

The 140 ranch homes that will make up the completed development are being built by George Otto, President of Penn Valley Constructors and co-chairman of the Friends Social Order Committee, and F.O.R.-member Morris Milgram, President of Smelo-Milgram, Inc. Sixty-five persons, mostly Quakers, put up the money to get the project under way. "I asked Quakers to put their money where their beliefs are, and we soon raised $150,000," said Mr. Otto.

Not less than half of the homes are being reserved for Negroes. To date, seventy buyers have made deposits.

Pacifist MP's Defy Labor Party Line

Six Members of Parliament broke the Labor Party line on November 18 by insisting on a formal vote on the ratification of the London-Paris agreements for rearmament of Western Germany. On the recommendation of the "shadow Cabinet," which steers the Labor Party in the House of Commons, the Party has "withdrawn the Whip" from them, which puts the six in the position of "independents" in the House.

Five of the MP's calling for the vote so they could register opposition to German rearmament are pacifists, including Emrys Hughes and Victor Yates, both of whom write for *Peace News* and have visited the U.S. in recent years. All other Labor MP's, including all followers of Left-Wing Aneurin Bevan, refrained from voting so as not to be exposed to expulsion from the party.

San Francisco Luncheons in Fourth Year

The Wednesday luncheons that the F.O.R. conducts in San Francisco have run for four years. Programs have been varied, consisting of some informal sessions allowing much time for discussion, or of talks by local residents and outside speakers.

Persons from abroad or with foreign experience who have addressed the meetings include Muriel Lester and André Trocmé, as well as the George Vigars (longtime leaders in the Bruderhof), Clifford MacQuire and Hugh Faulkner (British F.O.R.), the Haymans (for several years directors of Freundschaftsheim), Howard Schomer (representative of Congregational churches on the Continent), Mildred Fahrni (Canadian F.O.R.), Stuart Morris (Peace Pledge Union), Karel Hujer (Czechoslovakian astronomer), and Doris Lester (director of Kingsley Hall).

Jottings

Dr. Howard Thurman, dean of the Chapel of Boston University, received the 1954 Brotherhood Award from the Philadelphia Junior Chamber of Commerce.

A member of the FOR Advisory Council, Dr. Thurman is the author of *Deep Is the Hunger* and *Meditations of the Heart* (published by Harpers) and formerly was pastor of the Church for the Fellowship of All Peoples.

Franklin Zahn, the chairman of the Citrus Belt FOR in Pomona Valley, reports an interesting project conducted by their group. Some 50 ministers were mailed a copy of the *Colliers* reprint, "Why Our Soldiers Refuse to Shoot," and a FELLOWSHIP reprint, "The Challenge to the Church." Reactions to the opposing points of view raised by the articles were requested in order to stimulate concern and pinpoint the basic issues involved in educating youth for peace.

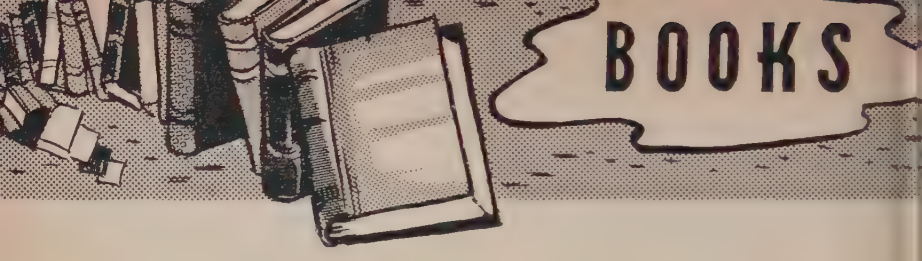
Dr. George A. Buttrick, for 28 years pastor of Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York City, and an outspoken pacifist, has been asked to lead the spiritual life of Harvard University. He will serve as Chairman of the University's Board of Preachers and as Plummer Professor of Christian Morals, in which capacity he will teach both in the general education program of Harvard College and in Harvard Divinity School.

Phillips Moulton, former pastor of the Park Slope Methodist Church, Brooklyn, has become chaplain of Morningside College, Sioux City, Iowa. He is a member of the F.O.R. Executive Committee.

In November the Supreme Court of Puerto Rico reversed a District Court conviction of Ruth Reynolds for taking an oath supporting Nationalist leader Pedro Albizu Campos during the 1950 Nationalist revolt. Miss Reynolds, secretary of the American League for Puerto Rican Independence, was sentenced to one to six years in prison for advocating overthrow of the government by force. She now resides in New York City.

The Jane Addams Children's Book Award for 1954 went to *Stick-in-the-Mud,* by Jean and Fred Ketchum, published in New York by William R. Scott. The human values of social cooperation, tolerance and acceptance of the worth of new ideas all go into this small book to make it not only entertaining to children, and to adults who read to children, but also highly useful in presenting the essential values of social living.

As of the beginning of the second week in December, Christmas card sales for 1954 were especially good, better than last year, and up to 1952, our best sales year. A total of 205,000 has been sold, with "The Open Doorway" the obvious favorite. This card carries a Hans Herzog original painting and the Elinor Lennen poem beginning, "Tonight the great world's heart becomes an inn where love may, for a season, make its dwelling."



A New Civilization Begins

Vinoba Bhave: The Man and His Mission. Vora and Co., Publishers, Bombay, no date, 107 pp.

For non-violence to have a genuine relevance today, it must speak to the condition of modern man. This includes action to right social, economic and political injustices and to lay the groundwork for the establishment of the values of a new civilization.

In these times it is often difficult to know just what needs to be done and to find a creative, effective way of doing it. This is true especially in the West where our whole civilization is in the process of disintegration and break up, where no amount of petty reformism will be adequate to save us or the values we cherish. How does one begin a new civilization? How are we to find a program, a direction, a way of implementing it? Are there more relevant ways of bringing to fulfillment our fundamental values than traditional Western pacifism has yet discovered? These are questions to which we must find answers.

From other parts of the world, principally India, there have been important contributions toward the answering of these questions. Of these contributions, most notably Gandhi's, we in the West have remained largely ignorant.

The most significant experiments and contributions along this line in India today are being made by Vinoba Bhave and his co-workers in the Bhoodan (Land Gift) Movement, the theoretical contributions and actions of the "Gandhian Socialists," such as Asoka Mehta, Rammanohar Lohia and others within the Praja Socialist Party, and by Jayaprakash Narayan, former PSP leader who has now dedicated his life to bringing about a non-violent revolution by working wholeheartedly for redistribution of land through the Bhoodan Movement.

This is the movement which since 1951 has obtained through voluntary gifts from rich and poor over four million acres of land for redistribution to the landless. It aims at collecting one-sixth of the land by 1957. Few doubt that the land problem is one of the key issues—many say *the* issue—the solution of which will determine the future of India: whether she is to become another Communist regime, a conservative military state, or a demonstration of a non-violent social and spiritual revolution. And what happens to India and Africa in the next fifty years may in large measure determine the history of the world for several centuries.

It is because of these factors that books such as this which provide us with reliable information as to what is happening in India along

these lines are important. This small volume is a collection of essays—most of them previously published elsewhere—about Vinoba Bhave and the Land Gift Movement. Among the contributors likely to be known by American readers are M. K. Gandhi, Bhartan Kumarappa, Robert Trumbull, George Weller and Pat McMahon.

Vinoba is a scholar of the Indian classics, a linguist, an ascetic. He was imprisoned six times by the British. There are signs in his thinking that if the wealthy do not give up their land in response to his saintly pleading, he may then lead the landless peasants to nonviolent occupation and appropriation of the land which is rightfully theirs, which the rich have no moral right to hold while others hunger without means to raise their food.

Bhave appeals to the hearts of men. He speaks simply, directly. There is a power here which we must understand and critically analyze in light of the social realities of India, but which we cannot pass off. As James H. Noyes in his essay in this volume says: "As I watched Vinoba, I understood for the first time what a powerful force is employed when a moderate begins conducting a revolution, when an individual walks quietly among millions and is able to command by whispers."

A new climate is being created in India. Land cannot now so easily be regarded as simply personal possession; it is increasingly being viewed as the right of all. This seems the beginning of basic revolutionary change.

It would be good if America's pacifists could read this book and other more recent information about the current developments in India along these lines. And it would be even more significant if then we began to do something basic about our convictions.

—Gene Sharp

Evil Oversimplified

Beyond Containment, by William Henry Chamberlin. Henry Regnery Co., Chicago, 1953. 406 pp., $3.75.

This is Chamberlin's interpretation of the cold war, how it began and what must be done to win it. The blame for it is in large part attributed to the Yalta Conference, to Roosevelt, Hiss, Truman, Acheson and General George Marshall. Chamberlin absolves Chiang Kai Shek of responsibility for the Chinese revolution or its results and several times suggests that the United States should have intervened in the Chinese struggle as we did in Korea.

He favors an alliance with Franco, the rearming of Germany and Japan, and a program of "liberating" Communist bloc countries. He also recommends that the U.S. negotiate a truce of disengagement "with the Soviet Union withdrawing its armed forces from the heart of Europe, and the United States . . . cutting down or abandoning some of its military installations near the Soviet borders."

The thesis of the book is that Communism must be overcome by force. Evidently Chamberlin is concerned about the pacifist analysis of dealing with Russia, for on several occasions he makes the point that some movements cannot be defeated except by physical force. "The victory of Christianity over the declining paganism of the Roman Empire was not and probably could not have been stopped by

arms, because the early Christians used only spiritual means of persuasion. But there was a different situation when the Arab Moslems . . . entered France in the eighth century and offered the infidels the familiar choice between the sword, the Koran, and tribute. Then the element of physical force became all-important."

Toynbee in his *Civilization on Trial*, dealing with the same problem, writes: "Like Communism, Islam was an anti-Western movement which was at the same time a heretical version of a Western faith; and like Communism, it wielded a sword of the spirit against which there was no defense in material armaments. . . . The Communist weapon is the spiritual engine of propaganda. . . . Yet the fact that our adversary threatens us by showing up our defeats, rather than by forcibly suppressing our virtues, is proof that the challenge he presents to us comes ultimately not from him, but from ourselves."

Beyond Containment, like so many other books on Communism, oversimplifies the problem of evil in our world and therefore seeks military victory instead of repentance.

—JOHN M. SWOMLEY

Out of Deep Interest

Religion for the Hardheaded, by Alice Franklin Bryant. Dodd, Mead, New York, 1953. 116 pp., $2.

This is a very readable discussion among four people about religion. The four are called Believer, Skeptic, Agnostic and Hardhead. The hardheaded are those who are not likely to accept religion without some solid evidence to give it credence. Although both the objections to religion and the answers Mrs. Bryant gives are not new, she states them in an appealing way. It is understandable, for example, how the simplicity of the discussion should have appealed to a Japanese publisher who had already brought out an edition in Japanese.

The book is of interest to FELLOWSHIP readers partly because Christianity as the author discusses it has implications which rule out war, competitive economics and other forms of personal and social exploitation. But it is also of interest because of the discussions of science, materialism, immortality, miracles and a host of other questions that disturb modern man.

The royalties of this book go to the American Friends Service Committee for use in Korean relief. This expresses something of the author's interest in people and in the Far East. She has taught in Hawaii and China, was a prisoner of the Japanese in the Philippines during the war, and since the war has been associated with the F.O.R. in the Northwest.

—JOHN M. SWOMLEY

RECOMMENDED READING

Meditations of the Heart, Howard Thurman. Harpers, New York, 1953. $2.75.

My Gandhi, John Haynes Holmes. Harpers, New York, 1953. $2.75.

The Women in Gandhi's Life, Eleanor Morton. Dodd, Mead, New York, 1953. $4.

Work and Vocation, edited by John Oliver Nelson. Harpers, New York, 1954. $2.75.

Key to Peace

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

We must negotiate or die. We must negotiate with a Communist government. Genuine negotiation means giving the other side something it really wants in return for something we want. What the Communists really want is a world dominated by Communism. To gain this end armed might is incidental, but Communist propaganda is essential. They may, through negotiation, give up armed might; they will never give up propaganda.

Here is a key to peace. Let us in negotiation offer the Communists freedom of propaganda in return for a program of supervised complete universal disarmament, so that opposing armed forces will be replaced by world police acting on lawbreaking individuals.

Let us offer Communism freedom of propaganda in return for the complete abolition of war. There would still be serious problems of method, but with wisdom and patience they could be solved.

WENDELL THOMAS
Celo, North Carolina

Where to Begin

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Here on campus our Fellowship is able to help inform several of the pre-draft age collegemen of the alternatives to military service. It seems to me that so long as we are caught in the draft machinery, this is a vital area of education for our youth. So many are unaware of there being any alternative; hence the pessimism and fatalism which are settling down over our high schools and colleges.

MARY FITZPATRICK
Drew Seminary,
Madison, N. J.

Too Orthodox

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I don't know how you can be so orthodox. In Sept. issue, page 1, you say ". . . the ruthless probing spearpoint of Communist strategy; . . . West being prodded at one point after another. . . ."

It is dangerous for a pacifist to condemn the other side. This is what the orthodox do and it fans the flame of war.

ALEC C. BEASLEY
Winfield, B. C.

Against "Veterans" Day

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

On November 11, 1918 an armistice was signed that brought to an end World War I. This day was celebrated as Armistice Day. As the years went by, and more especially since hostilities again broke out, this day came more and more to be a day of prayer for world peace. These last two years, however, through the efforts of the

Legion, this day has been proclaimed as Veterans Day.

With the institution of Veterans Day we are not commemorating an event, but rather a group of people within our democracy. We might as well have a Teachers Day or such.

I deeply regret seeing November 11th changed by the military interests from a day of prayer for peace to a day commemorating the military side of our national life. This is not what is needed in our land or world today.

Yet it is with interest that I note that not one Church or peace magazine (of which I know) has raised its voice in opposition to the founding of a holiday that has so little idealistic content. Already we may have gone too far in the establishment of a military holiday for our land, but I would still like to see an effort made to make November 11th a Day of Peace, if it is to be a holiday at all.

S. N. McCain, Jr.
Kauai, Hawaii

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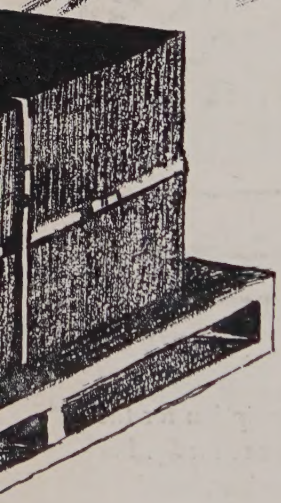

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